Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

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Beware Leftist Agents: The current campaign to drive a wedge into the conservative movement by raising a hullabaloo about "right-wing extremists" intensifies. The stepping up of the drive, however, suggests to veterans of politics in the Nation's Capital that the scheme to divide the conservatives (whose growing strength from coast to coast panics the liberals) may now be approaching a more sinister phase. It is believed that the liberals include many fellow-travelers who, in their fanatical desire to discredit the conservatives, may engage in Machiavellian tactics of a violent character.

What is feared is that the Left apparatus may plant *agents provocateurs* among what the liberals call "right-wing extremist groups." A common definition of *agent provocateur* is: "One assigned to associate himself with members of a group and, carrying this label, to commit illegal or harmful acts that will be blamed on the whole group."

One distinguished elder statesman of the Democratic Party, ex-Senator Burton K. Wheeler, now living in Washington, drew this possibility to the attention of HUMAN EVENTS. Wheeler, for 24 years a Democratic Senator from Montana, a veteran of the political wars of the past half century (and, incidentally, a supporter of JFK in the last election), voiced his apprehensions to the Editor of HUMAN EVENTS last week.

"Incidents of fraud or violence, deliberately started by leftist extremists—to smear the Right—cannot be ruled out as an early possibility. Communists and fellow-travelers are specialists in this sort of thing."

With his great political perspective over the history of the past 50 years, Wheeler pointed out that such maneuvers are neither new nor exclusively Communist. "As a matter of fact," he remarked, "other elements in our political body did similar things, even antedating the subsequent rise of the Communists in America."

Wheeler, when US District Attorney in Montana during World War I, exposed activities of *agents provocateurs* who infiltrated labor organizations to create incidents such as bombings and wildcat strikes, designed to discredit these labor groups during wartime. These *agents provocateurs*, Wheeler says, were subsidized by anti-labor elements.

He went on: "Later, at the time of my exposure of the theft of US oil lands (1923-1926), I was the target of *agents provocateurs* hired by the Department of Justice under the notorious Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty. These agents sought to plant unsavory persons in my entourage in order to smear and discredit me when I tied Daugherty to the oil-grabbing gang."

The veteran Senator then brought the picture up to World War II. "When I was a leader of America First in 1940-1941," he recalled, "I knew of the activities of Communist *agents provocateurs* who tried to associate America First with Nazis and Bundists by distributing Hitler-style literature at America First meetings. Not only Red agents but also British agents (seeking to draw the US into the war) were behind various strange incidents, particularly in New York City."

Wheeler concluded: "It's up to the press to show some political sophistication, some background knowledge of the rise of American political movements, in analyzing news events which might involve such practices and—above all—to avoid over-simplification in reporting political news."

Capitol Camera: Senate hearings which last week cleared U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers drew acceptance from some Senators, but silent reserve from others. Fact is: when Powers was captured in Russia in 1960, the CIA put out one story, but reversed its story last week in the hearings. Most of Capitol Hill remains confused, just as mystified as ever.

• *Although the New Frontier attempts to reap political gravy from Lieutenant Colonel John H. Glenn's space flight, the Republican Congressional Committee reports that a poll taken among Glenn and his six fellow astronauts showed that all of them voted for Nixon in* 1960. *A friend of* HUMAN EVENTS *who attended college with Glenn reports that he is "a staunch conservative with strong patriotic instincts."*

• The "right-wing-extremist" hullabaloo reportedly played a decisive role in the hair-line outcome of the recent congressional by-election in Detroit. Left-liberals among the Democrats challenged the GOP candidate to repudiate "right-wing extremists." The Republican surrendered to this demand, thereby offending many conservative voters. He lost by 767 votes; observers believe more than this number represented conservatives

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who "sat on their hands" because of the GOP candidate's "repudiation."

• *One of our firmest diplomatic opponents of Red China, E. F. Drumright, is being transferred from his post as US Ambassador to Chiang Kai-shek's government in Formosa. Diplomatic Row says that Drumright—long a target of criticism by American appeasers—is a victim of the "soft-on-communism" directors of US foreign policy.*

• Reports from South Africa say that astronaut Glenn's feat raised the morale of the white settlers, especially the rising white leader, Prime Minister Roy Welensky of Rhodesia. The "black supremacy" fanatics in Africa had downgraded America in recent years because of Soviet space successes. Now Welensky and his friends in surrounding countries take hope from the US scientific exploit.

Resounding YAF Rally: The second annual Young Americans for Freedom rally in New York's Madison Square Garden last week took the Big Town—long considered a citadel of liberalism—by storm. Eighteen thousand conservatives jammed the world-famous arena in an outpouring of enthusiasm which surpassed even Ike's "I will go to Korea" speech in the Garden in 1952.

Astonishing is that ABC-radio offered the program "live" for two hours to 390 stations (an unusual proposal by a major radio network) and over 100 did broadcast the meeting, canceling their scheduled programs (also a rare event).

Featured speakers at the rally, at which several thousand were turned away at the door, included Senators Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.), Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and John Tower (R.-Tex.) and Representative Donald Bruce (R.-Ind.). Goldwater was introduced as "the conservative candidate for President," and this set off a ten-minute demonstration with chants of "We want Barry." In his address the Arizonan referred to conservatism as "the wave of the future" and questioned the ability of liberals to lead America in the struggle with communism.

Goldwater asserted: "There is something wrong with the orientation given us by the American liberals for the struggle ahead. There is reason to question whether these liberals fully and accurately understand exactly what it is that threatens our survival and the cause of freedom." He stated there is a "growing realization that our position in today's world is a conservative position and that it takes more than appeasement to defend that position."

Referring to Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) members, who made up a sizable number of the 800 to 1,000 picketing the rally, he wanted to know why they were associating with "Communist and Nazi" elements in opposing the affair. Both the American Nazi party and a Communist-cited youth group picketed outside with ADA.

After picketing, the leftists marched to St. Nicholas Arena for a counter-rally. But they could fill only half the 4,000 seats to hear New York *Post* editor James Wechsler and Senator Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.). Observers called the affair a gloomy show, so much so that half the leftists got bored and went home to their "pads" before Humphrey spoke.

Labor Front: Reliable sources (not the company) tell HUMAN EVENTS that the Studebaker-Packard Corporation was subjected to a subtle but strong form of Administration pressure before it signed an agreement on February 12 ending the 38-day strike against the concern by the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Final bargaining sessions were moved to Washington from South Bend, Indiana, at the suggestion of Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg. The Secretary recently has been charged by both labor and management spokesmen with exceeding, in other cases, the traditional limits of official mediation in "free collective bargaining."

According to informants, the company negotiators received a convincing intimation in Washington that they should end the strike immediately by accepting the best terms they could get from the union—or risk loss of all government contracts, present and prospective. The company recently took over a former airplane plant near South Bend.

How's That Again?: Anti-Communist experts were thunder-struck last week when they read of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's pronouncements before the Advertising Council in Washington that the Communist Party of the United States was a "windmill," virtually powerless to harm the government.

How, they asked, could this come from the chief US law enforcement agent who last September 24 on *Meet the Press* stated that Communist espionage "is much more active now than it has ever been in the history of the United States?" The belittling of the Communist menace hardly squares, either, with the opinion of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Only four months ago, Hoover, in a speech in Washington, remarked that the internal Communist threat was far from being a bogeyman. "The Communist threat from without," said Hoover, "must not blind us to the Communist threat from within." The latter, said Hoover, "is reaching into the very heart of America through its espionage agents and a cunning, defiant and lawless Communist Party, which is fanatically dedicated to the Marxist cause of world enslavement and destruction of the foundations of our republic."

We must, said the FBI Director, "continue to stiffen our national backbone in dealing with Communists and their dupes, sympathizers and apologists. If we relax our guard for a moment, we court national disaster."

Atomic Testing: "President Kennedy seemed about as reluctant as a kid going to the dentist in saying that he would renew atmospheric testing." This was one reaction, at least, by a veteran news-

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man after Kennedy's announcement that the US would renew testing above ground if the Russians don't agree to sign a pact by late April.

The decision was all to the good, say competent military observers, but why so long in coming? It came a full six months after the Soviets openly broke the test-ban moratorium. And it came a little over a year after the time Richard M. Nixon said he would, if elected President, demand the Soviets sign a test-ban pact or he would resume testing.

Republicans to a man, while applauding the President's announcement, note they have been urging Kennedy to pursue this course of action for almost a year and they take some credit for his decision.

While the liberal press has lauded the President's "patience," such patience has resulted only in a further deterioration of our test-site facilities in the South Pacific. Representative Chet Holifield (D.-Calif.), chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, has said he doubts whether the Administration could resume testing by April, even if it sincerely wanted to, because of this deterioration.

Even now, it is noted, the 18-nation disarmament conference which opens in Geneva next week may hamper the President's resolve to go ahead with his announced decision. The March conference may well drag on for months, giving the President an excuse to delay testing. London, which has a strong influence over JFK, has already called for a "relaxation" of inspection safeguards included in a test-ban pact previously offered the Russians.

In one sense, however, the President has done a remarkable thing: he has opposed the policies of Adlai Stevenson, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Walt W. Rostow and Jerome Wiesner, who, according to informed sources, opposed resumption of atmospheric tests to the end.

Yet, note observers, this clique obviously still holds enormous sway over the President. For, last week, long after the objective evidence showed the Soviets had probably gained a superior nuclear knowledge over the West as a result of their recent testing, President Kennedy only announced that he might begin testing on some unspecified date toward the end of next month.

Rocky's Power Grab: New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller recently threw his political muscle around by taking over personal control of both the New York (Manhattan) Republican Committee and the National Republican Club. Seasoned experts see the move as a countermeasure to growing anti-Rocky sentiment among Empire State GOP'ers.

After Nelson steamrolled through his own men into control of the two organizations, New York *Daily News* political columnist Edward O'Neill reported that there is an anti-Rocky movement active "in every county in the state," and that it is waiting only for the Governor to pull a boner before becoming vocal in its opposition. A considerable amount of the party disenchantment with Rockefeller, O'Neill reports, lies within two highly important Republican counties, Westchester and Nassau. Westchester is the home of Lieutenant Governor Malcolm Wilson, whom many Republicans would like to see head the state ticket rather than the domestically-troubled Governor. A personally attractive Roman Catholic and a family man, Wilson is considerably more conservative than Rocky and would be favored for the nomination should the Governor step down.

Reportedly, Rockefeller pollsters are sounding out the state in an effort to find out whether public sentiment toward him is such that he could sweep to an impressive re-election victory. If the reports are discouraging, it is believed that Rocky may resign as Governor at the end of the legislative session this month—and possibly go on to make social rather than political headlines.

Rostow on Defense: Is Walt Whitman Rostow, chief of the State Department's Policy Planning Council, the real Secretary of Defense? No one, to be sure, believes he sets the entire policy for Defense, but there are strong indications that the man who trekked to Moscow in November, 1960, to work out a disarmament agreement with the Soviets is playing a vital role.

It has been strongly contended in some military quarters that Rostow was behind the Administration's plans to kill further production of B-52's and B-58's (now the backbone of the Strategic Air Command) for the purpose of relieving "tensions" with Soviet Russia. Rostow's hand was also seen in the Administration's adamant position, presented just over a week ago before the House Armed Services Committee, to block the proposed production of the B-70, a supersonic, manned bomber that was supposed to have replaced the B-52 and B-58.

As HUMAN EVENTS pointed out on September 1, 1961, Rostow was told in Moscow by Soviet Foreign Minister Vasily V. Kuznetsov that our manned bombers were increasing tensions since the Soviets supposedly feared we might use them to launch a sneak attack against the USSR.

The Chicago Sun-Times *on March* 30, 1961, *significantly stated that, as a result of Rostow's talks, Kennedy's defense message last year, "written explicitly for Soviet consumption," omitted spending for these weapons. The defense message this year also includes no funds for such weapons.*

General Curtis LeMay, Air Force Chief of Staff, testified last week before the House Armed Services Committee that unless the B-70 program were launched the US might lose its nuclear striking

Reverend Benjamin A. Meginniss, Jr., Episcopal Church of the Nativity, Dothan, Alabama: "HUMAN EVENTS is very helpful to anyone seeking a well-grounded picture of the American political scene. It is good to have an articulate voice for constitutional government in these United States."

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force in the next few years. After LeMay's testimony, the committee unanimously directed the Administration to build an "RS-70" weapons system (the new designation for the B-70 program). But the congressmen are also aware that although the Administration last year was given over $500 million to produce B-52's, it refused to spend the money.

Demos' Pink Slip: The Republican Party in California apparently hasn't learned that the best defense is a good offense. Pros point out: instead of squabbling among themselves, the Republicans should grab hold of certain vital issues which they can use against the Democrats.

The leftist tendency of the Democratic Party in the Golden State is a strong case in point. The California Democratic Councils (the work-horse of the party) and Democratic Senatorial candidate Richard Richards are cut from the same cloth as the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown and Attorney General Stanley Mosk also hewed close to leftist causes during the '40's. (See October 6, 1958, HUMAN EVENTS article, "Your Pink Slip is Showing, Mr. Brown.")

The burning issue available to the GOP today is Attorney General Mosk's gestapo-like action last month when—with full approval of Governor Brown—he ordered seizure of private property belonging to the non-profit San Diego Research Library. The property included files on suspected subversives in the state.

An agent of Governor Brown brazenly went into a National Guard Armory in San Diego last month, stole the files and transferred them to Sacramento, the state capital, where they are now under lock and key.

Republicans are claiming that the Brown Administration has something to hide, that much of the data included information on Democrats that might prove extremely embarrassing during an election year. The San Diego *Union* ran a stinging editorial, protesting that "seizure of the files by a state agency . . . is pure police-state tactics."

Anti-Red TV: Still a smash hit wherever it is viewed on American television screens is the filmed program, "Hollywood's Answer to Communism," first shown to a huge California audience last August. The latest rave notices come from St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* publisher Richard H. Amberg, whose paper sponsored the film in that city recently. The film includes discussions on the Communist menace by Representative Walter Judd, Senator Thomas Dodd, *Life* publisher C. D. Jackson, Cleon Skousen and Dr. Fred Schwarz.

In a March 2 letter to HUMAN EVENTS, Amberg stated: "Through today, I have received over 500 letters, which vastly surpasses any response to anything in my career, and innumerable other phone calls and personal comments. It is the most spontaneous outpouring that I have ever experienced . . . Everybody in town is still talking about it."

How Good Is Gallup?: Although liberals make much of the fact that the Gallup poll shows that an overwhelming majority of the American people are in favor of the Kennedy Administration, its program and our role in the United Nations, congressmen who take their own soundings quite often come up with surprisingly opposite opinions. This was recently pointed out by Peter Edson, liberal columnist for the Washington *Daily News* and other newspapers.

Edson reported that, although Gallup said 83 per cent of the population approve of the job the UN is doing, a poll by Representative Richard L. Roudebush (R.-Ind.) showed that 84.5 per cent of his constituents disapprove of the US purchase of $100 million worth of UN bonds.

The Roudebush poll of the ten counties in his district also showed the following: 85 per cent opposed federal aid to education; 83 per cent opposed medicare; 94 per cent opposed JFK's request to raise the national debt limit; 89 per cent opposed the creation of an Urban Affairs Department; 91 per cent opposed foreign aid to Communist countries which declare themselves independent of Moscow, and 91 per cent opposed trade with Red-bloc nations.

The Roudebush, rather than the Gallup, poll coincides with what many congressmen returning from grass-roots trips say—Kennedy is still personally popular, but his program is not.

Check-off Objector Wins: An item from the Portland *Oregonian* reports the first instance in Oregon history of a money verdict returned against a labor union sued as a legal entity in a legal action for damages. The damage verdict of $70,000 was returned by a jury in Multnomah County Circuit Court in favor of Elmer J. Day, formerly a Greyhound bus driver, and against the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America.

Testimony showed that Day was thrown out of the union and out of his job after he objected to the union's dues check-off system. Day complained because he had no say in the amount to be deducted from his pay and also because the union's "regimentation" barred him from direct relationship with his employer.

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State Department Madness

'We Can Do Business with the Communists'

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

THERE IS A NEW and popular theory which has been cooked up by the theoreticians in the State Department on how to defeat communism. You may have to count to ten after you read it, but here goes: In order to demolish the enemy, the United States and the free world must now begin to step up trade with the Communist bloc, particularly in consumer goods. Supposedly, extensive trade with Russia and Eastern European countries may—not will, but only may—create and foster massive consumer demands by populations under Communist rule.

The Communists, again according to this theory, will then have to pay so much attention to supplying their people with consumer goods they will have no time for their avowed goals of world revolution.

Admittedly, the theory is somewhat simplified, but it is the chief kernel of thought which now permeates the State Department sophisticates who shape our foreign policy.

No less a personage than Secretary of State Dean Rusk spoke of the advantages of trade with the Communists before the House Select Committee on Export Control on February 5. Said the Secretary: "I do not believe that we ought to close up all channels of trade" with the Communist bloc since "there is an impetus toward stability and peace in the growing consumer demands in the Soviet Union."

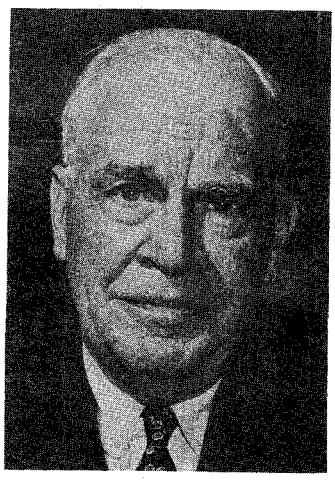
Last October, Rusk stated before the same Committee that "peaceful trade" with the Soviets "may erode gradually the concept that conflict between us is inevitable and replace it with some recognition of the mutual advantage of closer economic relations."

This theory also has been propounded by the new chief of the State Department's Policy Planning Council, Walt Whitman Rostow, in his highly-influential *The Stages of Economic Growth,* published in 1960. The former Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor argues that the free world should perhaps push the Soviet Union into a "mass consumption" stage of society, which will, one gathers, muffle the demon forces of communism. Implicit throughout Rostow's book is expanded East-West trade.

THE IDEA that the West can kill communism by stuffing it to death with consumer goods is not just the private brainstorm of some influential State Department personnel. It is, despite denials, the operating policy of the Kennedy Administration, which is covertly and overtly seeking a vast increase of trade with Communist countries over the vigorous objections of Republican and Democratic congressmen alike.

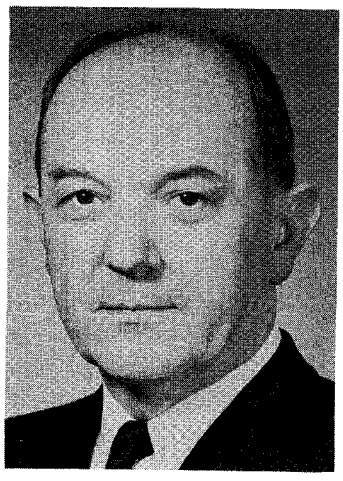
The guidelines of how to achieve greater trade expansion have already been carefully laid out in a still top secret pre-inaugural report by a Kennedy task force headed by George W. Ball, the present Under Secretary of State. This report, HUMAN EVENTS has learned, was also co-authored by top Administration officials in the White House who are presently advising the Administration on trade policy. (See HUMAN EVENTS, February 24, 1962.)

While the report has been kept carefully under wraps, part of its contents were leaked, perhaps as a trial balloon, to the New York *Times* on January 8. According to the *Times* story, the Ball report calls for a "positive response to Khrushchev's high sounding trade overtures."



HODGES

BALL



RUSK

ROSTOW

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LIPSCOMB

KITCHIN

It recommends that "the Soviets should be invited to trade with free world countries on the basis of fair practices." The United States, the report continues, must "persuade other free enterprise countries . . . that we are genuinely prepared to recognize the potential economic advantage of East-West trade." The report then, according to the *Times,* details how we should change—i.e., relax—our present laws restricting trade with the Communist bloc.

This story has become a chief concern of the House Select Committee on Export Control. The majority of the members of this Committee—set up last year to investigate trade with the Soviet bloc—feels that further expansion of East-West trade would be of enormous benefit to the Soviet Union with highly detrimental effects to the West. Indeed, most of the Committee's members hope the West will start to reduce such trade drastically.

A. Paul Kitchin (D.-N.C.), the chairman of this Committee (hereafter christened the Kitchin Committee), has demanded to see the Ball report. So far, however, he has received a polite but definite "no" from Under Secretary Ball himself.

The flat refusal by Ball to divulge this top secret report prepared for President Kennedy is, of course, nothing less than an attempt to throw a monkey wrench into this Committee's basic right to conduct an investigation regarding American trade with the enemy. Nor is this the first time the Committee has been blocked in receiving such vital information. Representative Kitchin charged from the House floor recently that the Administration had "thwarted" his efforts in this and similar matters to obtain necessary facts for his Committee's probe.

The Ball report, obviously, is of more than passing interest. The Under Secretary's views are most important when it is realized that he is President Kennedy's chief adviser on foreign trade matters and that he has control of two highly important governmental instruments which regulate American trade with Communist nations.

The Under Secretary, for example, is directly responsible for the Coordinating Committee (CoCom) negotiations in Paris. CoCom composed of representatives of 14 NATO countries, is responsible for drawing up a common list of items which are not to be shipped by NATO nations to the Soviet bloc because they would materially assist the bloc's economy, militarily or industrially. Ball is also chief administrator of the 1951 Battle Act. Under this Act, the US has drawn up another list of goods, similar to the CoCom list but more extensive. American firms cannot export items on this list to countries under Communist control.

BUT THE BALL REPORT assumes even more significance when one matches up what the report recommends—as revealed by the New York *Times*—with what the Administration has done in terms of attempting to expand trade with the Red enemy. To wit:

1. The Ball report, drawn up sometime between November, 1960, and January, 1961, recommends, as we have seen, more trade with the Soviet bloc. *Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, in his report to the Kitchin Committee, October 25, 1961, stated: "There has been a substantial increase in the dollar value rate of exports to the Soviet bloc under general license (GLSA) in the first half of 1961 as compared with previous years."*

2. The Ball report calls for an "Amendment to the Battle Act" for the purpose of normalizing trade with the bloc. *Last year Senator Fulbright, on behalf of the Administration, submitted S.1215, an amendment to the Battle Act, which*

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would allow the President to extend and expand aid to every Eastern European country under Communist control and allow foreign nations to increase trade with the entire Soviet European bloc and still receive American aid. The Senate approved this amendment on May 11, 1961. It now awaits action by the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

3. The Ball report, according to the New York *Times,* specifically calls for "authority for the President to suspend the embargo on furs and to suspend discriminatory tariff treatment for Soviet bloc imports." *When the Administration sent to the Congress this year its proposal (H.R. 9900) to revise the Trade Agreement Extension Act of 1951, it specifically left out Section 11 of the 1951 Act. Section 11 provided for the complete embargo of furs to the US from the Soviet Union and Red China.*

The Administration has tried to expand trade with the Soviet bloc in other ways as well. Last year, for example, the Agriculture Department received "feelers" from the Soviet Union to buy some 500,000 tons of wheat. The Department of Agriculture, however, had no authority to sell the wheat because at that time, out of deference to Congress, Administration regulations forbade sale of government-subsidized agricultural products to the Soviet bloc in Europe.

According to testimony by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture John P. Duncan, Jr., before the Kitchin Committee, the Administration decided to change this policy as a result of the Russian overture. On June 22, 1961, the Department of Commerce's Bureau of Foreign Commerce issued a bulletin which said: "A change in US export-licensing policy to permit the sale of subsidized surplus agricultural commodities to the Eastern European Soviet bloc was announced today by the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, US Department of Commerce." (Congressional outrage at this action has apparently prevented the shipment.)

There are strong indications, moreover, that increased US trade with the Soviet bloc may come about as a result of the investigation into the mammoth defense stockpile program. A large portion of this mountainous surplus is now labeled "strategic." At the present time, however, the Secretary of State and others in the Administration are studying the stockpile and have plans for reclassifying these goods as "non-strategic." If this is done, they will then be available for export to Communist countries.

MEMBERS of the Kitchin Committee are in profound disagreement with the Administration in its attempts to expand trade with the enemy. Congressman Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.), for instance, feels that an increase in trade of consumer goods will more likely strengthen rather than weaken the Communist bloc.

The Achilles heel of all societies under Red rule has been their inability to provide enough consumer goods. This is why Khrushchev makes the Russians eat horse meat. Clothes, housing, etc., are also in short supply.

DON'T WANT ANYBODY SNOOPIN' AROUND

What sense, asks Lipscomb, does it make for the free world to supply the Communists with the very commodities they so desperately need? Wouldn't it be more reasonable to tighten the embargo on Communist countries—even on food—so they will be forced to divert manpower and machinery from military and heavy industry to agriculture and the manufacture of consumer goods?

According to a study done for the Congressional Joint Economic Committee last year, under the Soviet Union's current seven-year plan the "present schedules for industrial development are predicated on the continued availability of industrial supplies and prototypes of advanced technology" from Western countries. Should the "free enterprise nations," as Ball suggests, bail out communism's seven-year plan?

The idea that Western nations should step up the tempo in trade with the Communists becomes ludicrous when one recalls that the US at Punta del Este pleaded with Latin American nations to cut off trade with Cuba in order to squeeze her into submission.

Cuba, however, has reoriented her economy so that today 80 per cent of her trade is done with the Soviet bloc. Under the Ball plan, the US would be building up the Soviet bloc so it would be possible for the bloc to make up the trade with Cuba that the US and her Latin friends have cut off!

THE STATE DEPARTMENT theorists insist they do not want to trade "strategic" items with the Soviet Union. The age-old question is, just what is strategic?

If, for example, the Russians decide to buy

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wheat from the United States to ship to a starving Red China, now threatening the West in Vietnam, is this a strategic item or not? After all, an army still marches on its stomach.

It is also obvious from the Kitchin hearings that the State Department has a much different opinion of just what is "strategic" than our Department of Defense. On pages 201 and 202 of the October-December, 1961, Kitchin hearings, for example, there is a list of millions of dollars worth of goods which the Defense Department ruled were strategic and should not be licensed for export to the Soviet Union and its satellites. But the State Department, which has "final determination" over what goods may be licensed for export, overruled the Department of Defense. As a result, special fuels, precision tools, rubber, iron, etc., were licensed for export.

Just 18 days after the Soviets put up the Berlin wall, the State Department, overruling Defense, okayed for export special materials destined to go to the USSR.

Moreover, if the Administration is really serious in not wanting to ship strategic items to the Soviet bloc, why did it offer the amendment to the Battle Act last year? One purpose for amending the Act was explained in Senate Report No. 199. Said the report: "The second object of the change in Section 303(a) is to permit the President to furnish aid to a non-Communist country, say a newly independent African country, even though, for reasons of new-nation pride or need to demonstrate neutrality in the cold war, it may not sign an agreement with the United States or give assurances that it will put an embargo on shipments of strategic materials to the Communist bloc."

Or take the attitude of the Administration on precision machine tools. A nation's machine tools are, of course, one of the most vital factors in determining a country's over-all productivity and the strength of its military establishment. Joseph Gwyer, a senior research specialist on Soviet industrial engineering, employed by the Library of Congress, told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee last October that the Soviet Union was at least "15 to 20 years behind the United States in machine tool technology." Colonel John Williams, with the Department of Defense, has said he would "rather send [the Soviets] a gun than a machine tool . . . because a machine tool can be used over and over again to manufacture these guns."

Yet none of these arguments has seemed to impress the Kennedy Administration. Last May, for example, it reversed a decision made by the Defense Department just two months earlier by authorizing for shipment to the Soviet Union highly sophisticated transfer machines for manufacturing cylinder blocks and engine heads. These machines are essential in the mass production of jeeps, trucks, tractors and so forth. The order was not shipped only because of a protest by Congressman Lipscomb.

In another case (the Bryant case), the Administration approved for shipment to the Soviet Union precision ball-bearing machines after the Defense Department had declared the machines unique, that they could not be purchased from other countries, and they would enable the Soviet Union to produce smaller and better missile guidance systems, gyroscopes and other military items. Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) stopped the actual shipment of the machines by raising a furor about it in the Senate, but the blueprints on how to make the machines had already been delivered.

DESPITE the fact that trade with the Soviet bloc has dropped directly as a result of the Kitchin hearings and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's probe, an expansion of trade with the enemy is the prevailing aim of the State Department. The idea, however, that the West can get the better end of the bargain by opening the trade floodgates is just so much foolishness, or worse. That it will somehow pacify the Communists is hokum.

In the 1920's and '30's, the West traded freely with the Soviets. The French and Americans built up Soviet airpower; American engineers developed the large Soviet iron and steel center at Magnitogorsk; American know-how organized and supervised the construction of hydroelectric dams in the USSR. During World War II, the US, under Lend Lease, shipped $11 billion of industrial goods to the Soviet Union. Still, as Messrs. Rusk and Ball must surely know, the Soviets have not paid us back with kindness.

Today, as the US expands trade and aid to the Soviet bloc, we find countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia engaging in foreign aid operations of their own for the purpose not of building up these receiving countries, but making them amenable to Communist trade pressures. Surely one of the most serious dangers of penetration of non-Communist markets is the generation of a neutralist or pro-Communist feeling within these countries.

What the Ball plan amounts to is making people's jobs in the free nations dependent on Soviet bloc trade. In short, such a plan would create in each country pockets of vested interests determined that the free world remain on good terms with communism. Khrushchev couldn't ask for anything better. Why should we give it to him?

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'Freedom Is a Political Matter'

"All that needs to be done to become slaves is to do nothing," said Dr. Tyrone Gillespie, assistant to the president of the Dow Chemical Company, in an address to the Monroe, Michigan, Chamber of Commerce. Extracts from the address follow:

GILLESPIE

"I'm mad, not at Mr. Roosevelt, or Mr. Kennedy, or Mr. Reuther, but at myself. I've sat around for 30 years and allowed people to rob Peter to pay Paul, without yelling hard enough; and in the last few years I have come to realize who Peter really is. He's my son. . . .

"Most of the problems of our time are social and belong in the family; some belong in the church; some to the local government; a few in the state, and only a very few to the Federal government. . . .

"The corporation has no civil rights, it has no votes, it can spend no money on elections, yet it must provide the jobs, the production, the payroll, the taxes and the good things of life we want.

"It is the whipping boy of politicians, of labor leaders, of liberals, and it can't fight back except through those who as individuals are a part of the system and believe in it, and they are too few. . . .

"There is nothing wrong with Michigan that a couple of good elections couldn't cure. . . .

". . .I would rather trust my life and health to the scientists of Parke Davis and Upjohn than to Secretary Ribicoff or his assistant, Jack Conway, who was Walter Reuther's assistant before he went to Washington. . . .

"Union workers seem destined to play a leading part in saving or breaking our democracy, and they must somehow be made to understand that their salvation lies not with goosestepping at the call of their union leaders, but with the salvation of their country.

"James L. MacDevitt, director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, has turned to the ancient union enemy, automation, to enforce his will upon his people. He has installed a computer to determine how and whether each union member is registered to vote. He states that if he can win 20 more seats for liberals in the House of Representatives, the AFL-CIO will control the government. . . .

"We have no computers and no force but logic to enforce our will on the people of our land, but I believe we have a patriotism, a conscience that will save us from ourselves. The very same policies that have gotten us in trouble at home have gotten us in trouble abroad, and the same system of freedom and energy that made this country great from 1776 can find solutions compatible with freedom to save us at home and abroad.

"If we are to have our freedom ten years from now—even five years from now—you must now become a part of the political life of this country. Freedom is a political matter. All that needs to be done to become slaves is to do nothing. . . ."

JFK Loads the Bench

From the New York Daily News

American Bar Association leaders are complaining because President Kennedy is loading the Federal bench with Democrats.

He has nominated 82 persons up to now for Federal judgeships, and the Senate has confirmed 68 of these, and not one of them is a Republican.

President Eisenhower left the Federal judiciary almost evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats.

Of course the situation smells on ice. But JFK is notoriously a politician first and last; eats, breathes, drinks and lives politics. To those who voted for him for President and now object to his naming Democrats by the score and maybe an eventual Republican or two to the Federal bench, the fitting retort would seem to be: Well, what did you expect?

* * *

From the Chicago Tribune

Mr. Kennedy is the same Kennedy who in August, 1960, when he was a Senator, wrote to the president of the American Bar Association as follows: "I would hope that the paramount consideration in the appointment of a judge would not be his political party, but his qualifications for the office. Please be assured of my cooperation in the effort to achieve your objectives in this regard . . . "

In an address on October 17, 1960, when he was a Presidential candidate, Mr. Kennedy vowed that all his appointments would be made "on the basis of ability—without regard to race, creed, national origin, sex, section, or occupation." He added, "I want the best. . . . "

Chattanooga News-Free Press: "In 16 years, we have met with the Communists 863 times for 1,700 hours of talk involving some 18 million words. And after all that, we are right back where we started, with the Russians testing bombs whenever they choose, and capitalizing on all sorts of propaganda at our expense."

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Did Politics Enter the Space Race?

By RUTH MONTGOMERY

Hearst Headline Service

EYEBROWS ARE BEING LIFTED in scientific circles at some of the contract-letting and shifts in our space program. Since Americans would not be amused at the thought of government officials playing politics-as-usual in this crucial field, it is to be hoped that the following cases are purely coincidental:

1. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) is currently moving its manned spacecraft center from Langley, Virginia, to Houston, Texas. A top scientist reports that the move was ordered even after Director Robert R. Gilruth complained that to do so could delay the manned space program by a year.

COINCIDENCE: Texas is the home state of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Chairman of the President's Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences. Houston is the home city of Chairman Albert Thomas of the House Appropriations Subcommittee, which handles space funds. Virginia's Senator Harry F. Byrd did nothing to help elect the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

2. NASA recently awarded to North American Aviation, Inc., of California the Apollo contract to design and build a three-man space craft for eventual landing of men on the moon. The contract stipulated that a large facility was to be opened at Tulsa, Oklahoma, for production support of Apollo, and an option taken on 300 acres of land on the Verdigris River Oklahoma, for possible expansion. The $400 million starter contract should eventually involve billions of dollars.

COINCIDENCE: The Chairman of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences is Senator Robert Kerr of Oklahoma. NASA Director James E. Webb, a Kerr protege, was until his appointment a member of the board of Kerr-McGee Oil Industries in Oklahoma. Representative George P. Miller of California is Chairman of the House Science and Astronautics Committee.

3. *Space Daily* reports this week that "powerful forces in Congress" have called on NASA to initiate a broad research program to develop rocket engines capable of using fuels derived from boron. Scientists have contended that boron is antiquated by our hydrogen fuels. Boron is derived in Muskogee, Oklahoma, by the Callery Chemical Company, whose headquarters are in Pennsylvania.

COINCIDENCE: Space Daily *listed the boron pressure group as Kerr, Senator Mike Monroney and Representative Ed Edmondson, all of Oklahoma, and Representative James Fulton and Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania.*

4. Republic Aviation Corporation of Long Island produces the F-105D Thunderchief fighter bomber, the striking plane of the Tactical Air Command. Recently its $1-billion Air Force contract was drastically cut back, and thousands of employes are facing layoffs and job loss. A huge contract was instead given to McDonnell Aircraft Corporation of St. Louis to produce the Navy F-110S plane, which will replace the F-105D's.

COINCIDENCE: Senator Stuart Symington of St. Louis is a ranking Democratic member of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, and a former Secretary of the Air Force under President Truman. Webb until his appointment as NASA Director was on the board of directors of McDonnell Aircraft Corporation which also has the contract for producing the Gemini two-man space craft, the next step after the Mercury craft which Astronaut John Glenn, Jr., has successfully orbited. New York's two Senators and Governor are Republicans.

FORMER VICE PRESIDENT Nixon at a meeting in Los Angeles the other day raised the question of politics in defense policies.

Every American should fervently hope that the nation's best interest, not politics or self-interest, is dictating every contract that is let. We cannot afford to lose the space reace.

Wall Street Journal: "We had better go easy on piling up national debt; with the life span steadily increasing, we may have to pay it ourselves . . . instead of our children.

LET'S STOP WATCHING AND START FISHING

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'In Every War But One'

By SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

IF THE AMERICAN IDEAL of responsible freedom is to endure, if the Judean-Christian concept of man as a child of God is to survive, if free governments of the Western world are to successfully resist the attempts of world communism to destroy them, every free citizen in the world today must learn as much as he or she possibly can about the methods, techniques and over-all goal of the Communists.

"In every war but one that the United States has fought, the conduct of those of its servicemen who were captured and held in enemy prisoner camps presented no unforeseen problems to the armed forces and gave rise to no particular concern to the country as a whole . . . In none of them was there a wholesale collaboration with the captors. Moreover, whatever the rigors of the camps, in every war but one a respectable number of prisoners managed through ingenuity, daring and plain good luck to escape. That one war was the Korean War."

This quotation comes from Chapter I of Eugene Kinkaid's excellent book, *In Every War But One.* In a little more than 200 pages, this author carefully presents the results of official studies made by the Department of Defense in an effort to determine why so many American prisoners died after being captured in the Korean War, why none of them attempted to escape and why an alarming number of them actively collaborated with the enemy.

In my opinion, this book should be required reading for every American.

Contrasted to the tragic record of American POW's, the Turkish UN soldiers who were captured by the Communists stayed alive and resisted every effort of their captors to indoctrinate them with Communist beliefs.

Russell Kirk in his excellent volume, *The American Cause,* comments on the fact that Americans in Korea "didn't know what they were fighting for." This volume of Eugene Kinkaid's suggests that American soldiers were lacking in discipline and fell easy prey to the Communist indoctrination methods.

Since the inception of this column, I have repeatedly attempted to document the lack of discipline in our society and the problems created by this departure from what was once a traditional American characteristic.

I suggest we should all read this book—not in an attempt to determine who was to blame for what happened in Korea, but rather in an effort to gain an understanding which can prevent a repetition of this Communist success with American prisoners of war.

It has been wisely said that men who will not learn from the past are condemned to repeat their mistakes. We cannot, we must not suffer a repetition of what happened to our prisoners of war held by the Chinese Communists in Korea.

(Copyright, 1962, Times-Mirror Syndicate)

Jack T. Pickett, editor, California Farmer, in a letter to Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman: "California is totaling up one of her richest agricultural years, and her biggest gains will be in those crops that are not controlled by the Federal government."

Let's Stop Importing Communist Propaganda

"The US postal system is performing an inestimable service to the Communist propaganda machine by assisting it in subjecting Americans to the continuous and persistent distribution of tons of literature from Communist countries." This is the conclusion of Senator Karl E. Mundt (R.-S. Dak.) in the 10th in the 1962 series of HUMAN EVENTS Congressional Interview. Senator Mundt discusses the Cunningham Amendment to the House-passed postal rate increase bill, which is designed to curb the imported flow of such propaganda currently being handled and delivered at the expense of US taxpayers. The interview will serve a valuable purpose in your community by alerting citizens to this vital legislation, which awaits passage by the Senate.

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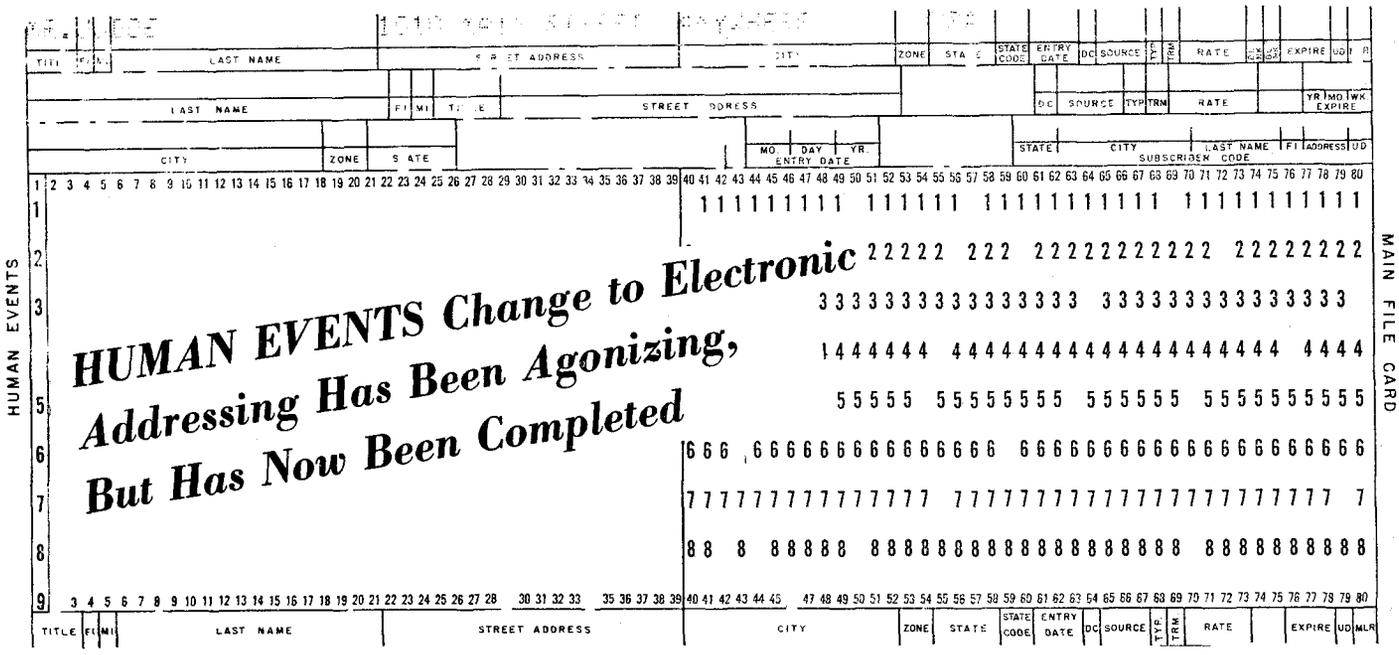

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POSTSCRIPT: You've read newspaper stories about electronic addressing mishaps. The picture magazine which scheduled 3,000 subscriptions to the subscriber who ordered three. The taxpayer who received a check from Uncle Sam for $4 million instead of $40. The publishing firm whose computer-projected sales resulted in an order to the printers for 200,000 books instead of 200. (After that catastrophe the human was re-introduced into the system.) The experience of HUMAN EVENTS has been of the non-spectacular kind, but it was sufficiently irritating to one reader to cause him to ask whether a Communist agent was deliberately fouling up our service to subscribers. Once the bugs have been screened out, however, all the testimony is that electronic subscription-processing does provide faster, better service.

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"Fine opportunity for a modern engineer if they'll let him work."

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Darling won one of his two Pulitzer Prizes with this cartoon in 1943.

So Long, 'Ding' Darling

"His insight into national life lifted his cartoons into the high rank of great and trenchant editorials. His kindness and humor were but the reflections of his own character."

So spoke then Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover in 1925 of Des Moines *Register* cartoonist Jay Norwood (Ding) Darling. Twice winner of the Pulitzer Prize, Darling drew his last cartoon in 1958.

Darling died recently, at 85, in Des Moines. His final cartoon, which he instructed must not be released until after his death, showed a shadowy figure running out the door of a cluttered cartoonist's office. It was captioned: "Bye Now—It's Been Wonderful Knowing You."

Two of Darling's most famous cartoons are reprinted on this page. The one on government paper work won him a Pulitzer Prize in 1943.

Of HUMAN EVENTS, Darling had this to say in 1958, the year he retired:

"I got my introduction to HUMAN EVENTS in an unusual way. Requiring the services of a doctor last winter in St. Petersburg, Forida, I went to Dr. Needles, heart specialist. To reach the patient's waiting room it was necessary to pass a shoulder-high shelf displaying HUMAN EVENTS. In my several visits, I noticed that visiting patients generally were reading HUMAN EVENTS. Dr. Needles is an extraordinary individual. You couldn't have a better evangelist.

"It is indeed a pleasure to recommend the weekly newsletter and the outstanding selection of important articles on current topics, which I have found to be the most concise and best edited comments on current events which reach my desk."

(Cartoons courtesy of the Des Moines Register)

Publisher Protests Subsidy

Congressman John M. Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), himself a weekly newspaper publisher, reported this Kennedy Administration double standard in his February 1 newsletter to constituents:

"My amendment on abolishing one of the free mailing privileges—in county for newspapers—had an interesting history. It passed on voice vote but the startled leadership quickly reversed it on a division vote.

"We have a huge deficit in the Post Office Department and everyone agrees it should be reduced. In my opinion, it was not fairly accomplished. . . . Then, too, the same old theory of never endeavoring to cut costs or economize but rather ask for more money."

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Falsehoods About the South

By JESSE HELMS

Raleigh-Durham [N. C.] TV Commentator

THERE SEEMS TO BE no end to the history and political science professors clamoring to use every available public forum to attack the South, its principles and its traditions. The slurs and the ridicule are inevitably wrapped in tired platitudes charging that the South is "living in the past," that the South never was what it thinks it was and that the South resists change.

Such a tirade appeared in one of the Sunday papers, written by Professor David L. Smiley of Wake Forest College. Aside from demonstrating an astonishing ignorance of the area in which he lives and works, the professor wrote a piece that was loaded with myths of his own making. For example, he attributed to Southerners the creation of the mint-julep, magnolia-tree myth. This myth was created, actually, by outside writers. Certainly they have kept it alive, much to the amusement of Southerners.

The professor denied that any real progress is being made in the South. To do this, he used two devices. One was to lump together all of the detrimental statistics he could find about the South. The other device was to ignore —or to classify as "meaningless"—any statistics tending to show the progress being made by and in the South.

Nobody contends that there are not things that need improving in the South. But, if one counts all of the detrimental or unlovely things about any section, an unlovely picture is inevitable. You can do the same thing about a country —or humanity, for that matter.

As for the professor's contention that the South is not making progress, we must observe that he has not looked out from his ivory tower lately. No section in America has changed more in the last 50 years than the Southeast—that is, if you use the same yardsticks applied to other sections of the country.

For example, the anti-South writers repeatedly point out the loss of population to other states. But when it is pointed out that the South gained more population than the Northeast, this is hurriedly dismissed as a "meaningless statistic." Also, the inference is nearly always left by the critics of the South that those leaving the South are the intellectuals and the brilliant. To put it flatly, this simply is not so—and the professors and other critics of the South are bound to know that it isn't.

Now, we did not bring this subject up, but since it has been brought up, a Southerner might be forgiven if he places a little different emphasis on his traditions and their value than that placed by professors who simply do not like anything about the South. The Southerner may be pardoned for refusing to abandon his traditions to embrace attitudes which appear unattractive to him. The Southerner, you see, has the right—even the duty—to take a look at the so-called progress of the North which the professors at least inferentially offer as a substitute.

It is not in the South that gangs of hoodlums terrorize city streets. It is not in the South that treason flourishes and is protected. It is not in the South that racial violence is most frequent and is swept under the rug. It is not in the South that crime syndicates have their headquarters. It is not in the South that labor racketeers have taken over political power. It is not in the South that patriotism has become a dirty word.

Contrary to the groundless charges by the professors, the South has not turned its back on reality. Indeed, it has steadfastly refused to abandon reality in favor of the misty, empty and hypocritical gibberish which, when boiled down, is nothing more than worship of an all-powerful government.

The South stands almost alone, and sometimes not often enough, in recognition of the importance of the responsibility of the individual. This, to put it plainly, is what the professors do not like about the South. It is time for them to stop kidding themselves—for they certainly aren't fooling anybody else.

'This Defies Common Sense'

Discussing the proposal that the United States buy $100 million worth of United Nations bonds, Representative Don L. Short (R.-N. Dak.) said:

"It is incredible that American taxpayers should be required to pay for the derelictions of such members as the Soviet Union. For 16 years we have been paying far more than our share; now let the other members pay up the millions they owe.

"With the continued refusal of such strange bedfellows as the Soviet bloc, many of the Arab states, France, Belgium, Portugal and South Africa to pay what they owe, it would be foolish to believe that the UN ever will have the money to redeem the bonds.

"How much longer do the leaders of this government propose to submit American citizens to blackmail by paying for the international delinquency of Russia, Cuba and other nations? This defies common sense."

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Castro's 'Worker's Paradise'

By FULTON LEWIS, JR.

FIDEL CASTRO has borrowed another trick from Kremlin Boss Nikita Khrushchev: A flat denial that "political prisoners" exist in his "worker's paradise."

Letters addressed to inmates at the Isle of Pines Prison are returned to the sender. They bear the stamped message: "Devuelta por no existis prisionero de guerra." Loosely translated, this means: "Returned because there are no prisoners of war."

Government stamp or no government stamp, the Isle of Pines remains one of the most dreaded spots in all Cuba. A message from one imprisoned student was smuggled out to leaders of the Cuban Student Directorate, an organization of anti-Castro freedom fighters. It read in part:

"I have been in jail for some time in the prison that I shall describe. It is located in the Isle of Pines separated by the sea from the rest of Cuba. The prison consists of two square buildings for common criminals and four rounded ones for political prisoners. It is the latter ones I am going to talk about.

"These buildings are called circulars and each circular has five stories and approximately 500 cells. It is almost impossible for me to tell the exact number of political prisoners now in jail here, but the fact is that we are completely stacked due to the enormous number of prisoners.

"We remain locked in day after day without the benefit of physical exercise or sunshine. . . . All types of reading are completely forbidden and we are not allowed to possess any books at all. . . . Our food consists of rice and peas filled with insects, without any meat. This often makes it impossible for us to eat the food."

From the Cuban underground the following is learned of the Isle of Pines:

1. Students are condemned in summary trials, in which the defendants do not know the nature of their "crime" until the very moment of trial. Communication with a lawyer prior to this time is forbidden. Within 24 hours of the trial, the defendant is sentenced, the penalties ranging from 20 years in jail to death by firing squad.

2. Prisoners are tortured at length for information on "counter-revolutionary" activities. One favorite practice is to force prisoners to jump naked over raised bayonets. Uncooperative inmates are thrown into solitary confinement, fed only bread and water, tormented with buckets of ice water thrown upon them during sleep.

3. A letter from one inmate reports that "our hygienic conditions are disastrous, hence we are easy victims of all kinds of diseases, such as malaria, typhoid fever and dysentery. The sick prisoners remain in the circular building because the infirmary has no light or ventilation. In almost all the buildings there are doctor-prisoners and they take care of the sick."

Prisoners are forced to keep a " water deposit" —usually a tin pail—since there is no running water. This can must provide for drinking, washing clothes and flushing toilets.

Such are the conditions at the Isle of Pines, while Fidel Castro proclaims that no political prisoners can be found on his tiny island. Castro's treatment violates all standards of international law and decency.

There may be some in this hemisphere properly indignant. But, if so, they are strangely silent.

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Get a Calculator

From the San Diego Union

The Kennedy Administration is abandoning the 1947-49 base economic indicator and instead will compare our financial well-being with the 1957-59 period.

The cost-of-living index consequently won't be too frightening. For example, the cost-of-living figure for 1960 will be pegged at merely 103 as compared with the 1957-59 base of 100. Check it against the old standards, though, and the 1960 figure would be 126.5

The facts are the same but the statistics—things that stick in people's minds—are considerably more reassuring. The new index base simply is an obvious device to hide the fact that inflation is a continuing, ever-more-powerful hazard to the economy.

The American public would rest more comfortably if it knew the government was spending as much time fighting inflation as it devotes to trivia such as changing, to its whims, a base economic indicator.

Correction: HUMAN EVENTS inadvertently identified Northhampton, Massashusetts, Mayor Wallace J. Puchalski as a Republican in its issue of February 17. Mayor Puchalski is a Democrat and ex-Mayor Durbin H. Wells is a Republican.

First in 28 Years

John G. Veneman, a 36-year-old peach grower, has won a special by-election in California's 30th Assembly District to become the first Republican to represent Stanislaus County in the California State Assembly in 28 years.

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In Defense of Colonialism

By HANS F. SENNHOLZ
Chairman, Economics Department, Grove City [Pa.] College

ONE OF THE COMMON CHARACTERISTICS of the New Frontier and socialism is their bitter enmity toward colonial possessions. In the United Nations and through US foreign policies, the New Frontiersmen are exerting their great influence toward the speedy liquidation of European colonial possessions. They are condemning Portugal for retaining her overseas territories, condoning Indian military aggressions and Indonesian military preparations against European powers, and censuring France and Great Britain for their reluctance to vacate their last African territories.

To the American Socialist and New Frontiersman, colonial possessions are the shameful manifestations of a capitalist past in which imperialistic powers allegedly struggled for supremacy of trade and markets. They liken the present movements for Asian-African independence to that of their forebears of the 18th Century. To them the independence movements of India, Indonesia and Algeria are merely 20th Century replicas of the glorious War of Independence of 1776.

During his exile from Czarist Russia, Lenin wrote a similar analysis of capitalist colonialism. "Capitalist imperialism," he said. "leads to an increase of national oppression and subsequently to the growth of resistance not only in new territories just opened up, but also to territorial annexations among the old countries. . . . Putrescent capitalism breeds monopoly, oligarchy, the striving for power instead of freedom, the exploitation of an increasing number of small and weak nations by a very few wealthy nations."

Lenin's explanation of capitalist colonialism is, of course, permeated by Marxian syllogisms and doctrines. It is based on the assumption of a capitalist exploitation that withholds the rightful fruits of labor from the impoverished masses. According to Marx and Lenin, in the hands of the capitalists the surplus production requires foreign markets which the capitalist governments seek to provide through colonial expansion; therefore the world was divided up among the capitalist powers.

Those countries with the earliest capitalism acquired most of the colonial territories. Young capitalist countries like America, Germany and Japan only entered the race for colonies when their capitalist evolution proceeded rapidly and outdistanced that of the older capitalist countries like Great Britain and France. By this time, however, the world was divided, and a struggle resulted between the various colonial powers. It will continue until the economic forces generated by capitalism are subdued by the sway of peaceful socialism all over the world—or so Marx and Lenin said.

It cannot be the task of this article to refute the multiplicity of errors in Marxian outlook and reasoning. We must content ourselves with a short historical review of European colonial expansion during the last 500 years.

THE MOTIVES for colonial establishment were diverse. Some colonies were created as outposts for trade. Others owe their existence to the desire for adventure, political or religious discontent, the pressure of population, the proselytizing zeal of the Christian church and of pious monarchs, the zeal of European governments to reproduce their own constitutional systems in the non-European world. Finally, some colonies, such as the German, Japanese and Russian acquisitions toward the end of the 19th Century, served the aggrandizement of nationalistic governments.

Two periods of European colonization must be clearly distinguished, for they differed radically in motivation and realization. Between approximately 1500 and 1800, European political and economic ideology was shaped and conditioned by the doctrines of mercantilism. According to the mercantile system, which in its important aspects was akin to modern interventionism, it was the great object of government to conduct its dealings with other nations so as to attract the largest possible share of gold and silver. Mercantile governments, therefore, exalted foreign trade over domestic industry and export industries over domestic trade and services. Production was subjected to systematic regulation aimed at securing quality and cheapness in the exported articles.

Economic control was exercised in part by the central government, in part by privileged corporations and trading companies. High tariff duties were levied on imports. Colonies were founded for the advantage of the mother countries, and colonial trade became a new source of public revenue. A colony was prohibited from trading with other than the parent country, to which it supplied either the precious metals or needed raw materials.

The advocates of individual liberty and free enterprise need not defend the colonial policies conducted on behalf of mercantilism. For it was precisely their philosophical forebears, the natural rights philosophers and capitalist economists, who successfully refuted and destroyed the mercantile order. We know of no better *critique* of this system than that contained in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations.*

Yet, in spite of the numerous shortcomings flowing from its philosophical statism and economic fallacies, European colonial expansion must be defended in the light of historical evolution and comparison. European colonialism carried the light of Western civilization into all corners of a dark globe.

The mercantile system of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, of Cromwell and Colbert, of the Spaniards, Portuguese and Dutch was preferable by far to the barbarism of stone-age clans and tribes. And no matter what some romanticists may say about the charm and magic of primitive customs and practices, Western law and order proved more viable not only for economic betterment and technological progress, but also for peaceful cooperation and the preservation of human life.

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The mere fact that every Asian and African country is now imitating the production methods of the West, its form of government, its educational, medical and hygienic systems, and to some extent adopting Christianity, seems to be a clear indication that the Western ways of living are judged more desirable, even by most Asians and Africans.

The second period of European colonization differed radically from the first. The rise of individual freedom and private enterprise destroyed the ideological basis of the colonial system. The new philosophy gave rise to the revolutionary era in Europe. The same forces gave birth to the movement for colonial freedom in the colonies. The United States started the change, followed by the revolutions of Central and South America.

ANIMATED by this new philosophy and capitalist ideology, Great Britain transformed some of her colonies into great dominions with a quasi-national status. Rights of self-government were granted to those territories that were deemed fit according to Western standards. The other possessions in Africa and Asia remained a perplexing problem to the mother country.

On the one hand, the natural rights philosophy asserted everyone's right to life, liberty and property. The right to self-government is inherent in the right to liberty. Therefore, the advocates of this philosophy (which shaped British policies during the 19th Century) would not deny the natural right of all African and Asian natives to self-determination.

On the other hand, the preservation of life and property in most European colonies required the presence of European administration. There cannot be any doubt that the withdrawal of European occupation forces would have thrown most colonies into a wild state of bloody chaos. The law and order which the European countries had imposed—the peace and cooperation they had enforced—would have vanished immediately.

These considerations influenced the decisions of the European statesmen. As responsible world leaders, conscious of their responsibilities to Western civilization in particular and to mankind in general, they decided to maintain the world order without denying the right to self-determination within the framework of civilization, a decision that frequently imposed great financial sacrifice.

The whole world and especially the new nations of Asia and Africa are lastingly indebted to the European mother countries for this wise course of policy.

WITH THE RISE of militant collectivism in the shape of nationalism, socialism and communism during the 20th Century, a new colonial era has been ushered in. The two world wars and the growth of welfare statism greatly weakened Europe and reduced its comparative strength toward the colonial territories. At the same time, the colonial peoples in Asia and Africa demanded and clamored for independence, advancing the very arguments they had learned from the West.

But, in most cases, their intellectual and cultural preparations for independence within the framework of civilization have progressed little or not at all since the 19th Century. On the contrary, misguided by the rise of collectivism in the West itself, they are now seeking that kind of independence that responsible European statesmen dreaded so much and therefore successfully prevented in the past: the freedom to destroy the achievements of the West.

Most colonial countries are bent on destroying the international cooperation and division of labor created by Europe. To many new countries in Africa, independence means mainly the freedom to expel racial and linguistic minorities forcibly, especially the white settlers and merchants, and the freedom to seize or destroy European property.

It is true that the newly-emerging colonial countries are initiating some political and economic institutions of the West. But, with hardly a single exception, they are initiating the collectivism of the West which is closely akin to their age-old systems of tribal communism. Where they do not relapse into precolonial chaos, they eagerly transform their original tribal communism into territorial or national communism. Guided and prodded by the Soviet Union and other socialistic countries, they are seeking progress in national socialism or communism.

This is why the emergence of new countries in Asia and Africa is tantamount to a withdrawal by the free world. This is why the United Nations is gradually changing its characteristic make-up from that of Western preponderance to that of world socialism and communism. True, the new Asian and African countries may occasionally voice their agreement with the West —as long as material benefits may be derived from such agreement. But their natural disposition, based on age-old customs and ways of life, is closely akin to modern communism. To hope for an evolution of the political and economic system of limited government and capitalism is merely daydreaming.

In the light of this analysis, the policies of the United States government are most disastrous. In practically all issues and conflicts between Europe and the colonial countries in Africa and Asia, the US government has taken sides with the colonies. It has exerted its great influence toward the liquidation of European influence in India, Indonesia, Egypt, French Africa, the Congo, the Portuguese colonies, etc.

In fact, in its foreign policies the US government frequently has acted at complete variance with the European powers and in tacit agreement with the Soviet Union. Its position on Indonesia, the Suez crisis, French Algeria, Katanga and Portuguese Angola are recent examples.

Under New Frontier leadership, the liquidation of Western influence in all parts of the globe proceeds at an accelerating rate. Blinded by Marxian and Leninist dialectics, our New Frontier statesmen mean to oppose colonial tyranny, while in reality they promote the tyranny of Asian and African collectivism. Meaning to promote freedom and self-determination they help to destroy the Western law and order that effectively safeguards life, liberty and property. Meaning to stem the rise of communism, they promote its growth through European withdrawal and liquidation.

It is tragic, indeed, that at this critical moment of civilization the New Frontiersmen frequently commit the power and strength of this great nation to the very forces that would destroy it.

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